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## **TRAVAUX ET MÉMOIRES**

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TRAVAUX ET MÉMOIRES  
20/1

MÉLANGES  
JEAN GASCOU

TEXTES ET ÉTUDES PAPYROLOGIQUES  
(*P. GASCOU*)

édités par  
Jean-Luc FOURNET  
&  
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*Jens*

## ABRÉVIATIONS

Les abréviations des éditions papyrologiques suivent la Checklist of editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic papyri, ostraca and tablets : <http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/texts/clist.html> ou <http://papyri.info/docs/checklist> (toutes les adresses URL indiquées ici ont été consultées le 10 juin 2016).

AASS	<i>Acta sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur, vel a catholicis scriptoribus celebrantur, Venetiis 1734-1940.</i>
AC	<i>L'Antiquité classique.</i> Bruxelles.
ACO	<i>Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum</i> , ed. E. Schwartz & al., Berlin – Leipzig 1914-.
ACO, ser. sec.	<i>Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum. Series secunda. 2, Concilium universale Constantinopolitanum tertium</i> , ed. R. Riedinger, Berlin 1990-.
AE	<i>L'année épigraphique.</i> Paris.
AnalPap	<i>Analecta papyrologica.</i> Messina.
AnBoll	<i>Analecta Bollandiana.</i> Bruxelles.
AnIsl	<i>Annales islamologiques.</i> Le Caire.
AnTard	<i>Antiquité tardive.</i> Turnhout.
APF	<i>Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete.</i> Berlin.
ARG	<i>Archiv für Religionsgeschichte.</i> Berlin.
ASAE	<i>Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte.</i> Le Caire.
ASP	American studies in papyrology.
Basilica	<i>Basilicorum libri LX. Series A, Textus, vol. 1-8</i> , ed. H. J. Scheltema et N. Van der Wal, Groningen 1955-1988.
BASP	<i>The bulletin of the American society of papyrologists.</i> Oakville.
BCH	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique.</i> Paris.
BCTH	<i>Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques.</i> Paris.
BHG	<i>Bibliotheca hagiographica Graeca</i> , 3 <sup>e</sup> éd. mise à jour et considérablement augmentée, Bruxelles 1957.
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français de l'archéologie orientale.</i> Le Caire.
BJ	<i>Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn und des Rheinischen Amtes für Bodendenkmalpflege im Landschaftsverband Rheinland und des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande.</i> Köln.
BL	<i>Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten.</i> Leiden 1922-.
BOEP	<i>Bulletin of online emendations to papyri.</i> Heidelberg, < <a href="http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/md/zaw/papy/forschung/bullemendpap_2.1.pdf">http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/md/zaw/papy/forschung/bullemendpap_2.1.pdf</a> >.
BSAC	<i>Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte.</i> Le Caire.
Byz. Forsch.	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen : internationale Zeitschrift für Byzantinistik.</i> Amsterdam.

- Byz. Not.* *Notarsunterschriften im byzantinischen Ägypten (Byz. Not.)*, hrsg. von J. M. Diethart & K. A. Worp (MPER N.S. 16), Wien 1986.
- BZ* *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*. Berlin.
- CdÉ* *Chronique d'Égypte*. Bruxelles.
- CEFR* Collection de l'École française de Rome. Rome.
- CEL* *Corpus epistularum latinarum papyris tabulis ostracis servatarum : (CEL). 1, Textus, 2, Commentarius*, collegit, commentario instruxit P. Cugusi (Pap.Flor. 23), Firenze 1992; 3, *Addenda, corrigenda, indices rerum, index verborum omnium*, cur. P. Cugusi (Pap.Flor. 33), Firenze 2002.
- CFHB* *Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae*.
- CGL* *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum*, a G. Loewe incohatur, ed. G. Goetz, Lipsiae 1888-1923.
- ChLA* *Chartae Latinae antiquiores*. 1954-.
- CIG* *Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum*.
- CIL* *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*.
- CJ* *Corpus iuris civilis. 2, Codex Justinianus*, recognovit P. Krüger, Berolini 1877.
- CLRE* R. S. BAGNALL & al., *Consuls of the later Roman Empire* (Philological monographs of the American philological association 36), Atlanta 1987.
- Copt.Enc.* *The Coptic encyclopedia*, ed. in chief A. S. Atiya, 8 vol., New York 1991.
- CPG* *Clavis patrum Graecorum*. Turnhout 1974-2003.
- CRIPEL* *Cahiers de recherches de l'Institut de papyrologie et d'égyptologie de Lille*. Villeneuve-d'Ascq.
- CRUM, Dict.* *A Coptic dictionary*, compiled by W. E. Crum, Oxford 1929-1939.
- CSBE<sup>2</sup>* R. S. BAGNALL & K. A. Worp, *Chronological systems of Byzantine Egypt*, 2nd ed., Leiden 2004.
- CSCO* *Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium*. Louvain.
- DACL* *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, publié par dom F. Cabrol et dom H. Leclercq, Paris 1924-1953.
- DDBDP* *Duke data bank of documentary papyri*. < <http://papyri.info/docs/ddbdp>>.
- DGE* *Diccionario griego-español*, red. bajo la dir. de F. R. Adrados, Madrid 1989-.
- Dig.* *Corpus iuris civilis. 1, Digesta*, recognovit Th. Mommsen, retractavit P. Krüger, Berolini 1908.
- DOP* *Dumbarton Oaks papers*. Washington.
- DORNSEIFF – HANSEN* F. DORNSEIFF, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, ausgearbeitet von B. Hansen, Berlin 1957.
- DU CANGE* Ch. du Fresne DU CANGE, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis*, Lugduni 1688 (réimpr. Athènes 2003).
- Ed.* *Iustiniani XIII edicta quae vocantur*, dans *Corpus iuris civilis. 3, Novellae*, recognovit R. Schoell, absoluit G. Kroll, Berolini 1895, p. 757-795.
- EEBS* Ἑπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν σπουδῶν. Athènes.
- EP* *Encyclopédie de l'Islam, nouvelle édition*, Leiden – Paris 1954-2009.
- FIRA III* *Fontes iuris Romani anteiustiniani. 3, Negotia*, ed. V. Arangio-Ruiz, ed. 2, aucta et emendata, Florentiae 1968.
- FÖRSTER, Wörterbuch* H. FÖRSTER, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Wörter in den koptischen dokumentarischen Texten*, Berlin – New York 2002.

- GIGNAC, *Gramm.* F. Th. GIGNAC, *A grammar of the Greek papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods. 1, Phonology; 2, Morphology* (Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'Antichità 55), Milano 1975, 1981.
- GRBS *Greek, Roman and Byzantine studies.* Durham.
- HASITZKA, *NB* M. R. H. HASITZKA, *Namen in koptischen dokumentarischen Texten.* <[http://www.onb.ac.at/files/kopt\\_namen.pdf](http://www.onb.ac.at/files/kopt_namen.pdf)>.
- HGV *Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten*, dir. by D. Hagedorn. <<http://www.rzuser.uni-heidelberg.de/~gv0>>.
- ICMactar F. PRÉVOT, *Recherches archéologiques franco-tunisiennes à Mactar. 5, Les inscriptions chrétiennes* (CEFR 34, 5), Rome 1984.
- IG *Inscriptiones Graecae.* Berlin 1903-.
- IGLS *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, Beyrouth – Paris 1929-.
- ILAlg *Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie*, recueillies et publiées par S. Gsell & al., Paris 1922-.
- I.Métr. É. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine*, Paris 1969.
- I.Mylasa *Die Inschriften von Mylasa*, hrsg. von W. Blümel (Die Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 34-35), Bonn 1987-1988.
- JANNARIS, *Gramm.* A. N. Jannaris, *An historical Greek grammar chiefly of the Attic dialect as written and spoken from classical antiquity down to the present time : founded upon the ancient texts, inscriptions, papyri and present popular Greek*, London 1897.
- JEa *Journal of Egyptian archaeology.* London.
- JESHO *Journal of the economic and social history of the Orient.* Leiden.
- JHS *The journal of Hellenic studies.* London.
- JJP *Journal of juristic papyrology.* Warszawa.
- JÖB *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik.* Wien.
- JRS *The journal of Roman studies.* London.
- KSB cf. *SB Kopt.*
- LAMPE *Greek patristic lexicon*, ed. by G. W. H. Lampe, Oxford 1961.
- LBG *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität besonders des 9.–12. Jahrhunderts*, erstellt von E. Trapp, Wien 1994-.
- LDAB *Leuven database of ancient books.* <<http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/>>.
- Lex.Lat.Lehnw. *Lexikon der lateinischen Lehnwörter in den griechischsprachigen dokumentarischen Texten Ägyptens mit Berücksichtigung koptischer Quellen (Lex. lat. Lehn.)*, erstellt von I.-M. Cervenka-Ehrenstrasser unter Mitarb. von J. Diethart, Wien 1996-.
- LSJ (& Rev. suppl.) *A Greek-English lexicon with a revised supplement*, comp. by H. G. Liddell & R. Scott, rev. and augm. throughout by H. S. Jones, Oxford 1996.
- MANDILARAS, *Verb* B. G. MANDILARAS, *The verb in the Greek non-literary papyri*, Athens 1973.
- MAYSER, *Gramm.* E. MAYSER, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit, mit Einschluss der gleichzeitigen Ostraka und der in Ägypten verfassten Inschriften. 1, Laut- und Wortlehre; 2, 1-2, Satzlehre. Analytischer Teil; 2, 3, Satzlehre. Synthetischer Teil*, Berlin – Leipzig 1933-1938.
- MBAH *Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte.* St. Katharinen.
- M.Chr. L. MITTEIS & U. WILCKEN, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde. 2, Juristischer Teil. 2, Chrestomathie*, Leipzig – Berlin 1912.
- M.-P.<sup>3</sup> Base de données Mertens-Pack<sup>3</sup> (catalogue des papyrus littéraires grecs et latins). <<http://web.philo.ulg.ac.be/cedopal/base-de-donnees-mp3/>>.

- Münch.Beitr. Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte. München.
- MIFAO Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire. Le Caire.
- MTM Monographies de *Travaux et mémoires* du Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance. Paris.
- NB Copt. cf. HASITZKA, NB.
- Not. Dig. *Notitia dignitatum*, ed. O. Seeck, Berlin 1876.
- Nov. *Corpus iuris civilis. 3. Novellae*, recognovit R. Schoell, absoluit G. Kroll, Berolini 1895.
- OGIS *Orientis Graecae inscriptiones selectae : Supplementum Sylloges inscriptionum Graecarum*, ed. W. Dittenberger, Lipsiae 1903-1905.
- OLA Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta. Louvain.
- Onomasticon Oasiticum *An onomasticon of personal names found in documentary texts from the Theban Oasis in Graeco-Roman times*, compiled by R. P. Salomons & K. A. Worp, Leiden, rev. version September 2009. < [http://media.leidenuniv.nl/legacy/onomas\\_final.pdf](http://media.leidenuniv.nl/legacy/onomas_final.pdf)>.
- OPEL *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum (OPEL)*, ed. B. Lörincz & F. Redő, Budapest 1994-2005.
- Pap.Flor. Papyrologica Florentina. Firenze.
- Pap.Colon. Papyrologica Coloniensia. Opladen.
- PERF *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer, Führer durch die Ausstellung*, Wien 1894.
- PG Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca, accur. J.-P. Migne, Paris 1856-1866.
- PGM *Papyri Graecae magicae = Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, hrsg. und übers. von K. Preisendanz, München 1928, 1931.
- PIR<sup>2</sup> *Prosopographia Imperii Romani saec. I. II. III*, editio altera, Berolini 1933-2015.
- PL Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina, accur. J.-P. MIGNE, Paris 1844-1865.
- PLRE *The prosopography of the later Roman Empire*, by A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale & J. Morris, Cambridge 1971-1992.
- PmbZ *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*. Berlin 1998-.
- PN Papyrological Navigator. <<http://papyri.info/>>
- PO Patrologia Orientalis. Paris.
- PREISIGKE, BL cf. BL.
- PREISIGKE, NB *Namenbuch enthaltend alle griechischen, lateinischen, ägyptischen, hebräischen, arabischen und sonstigen semitischen und nichtsemitischen Menschnennamen, soweit sie in griechischen Urkunden (Papyri, Ostraka, Inschriften, Mumienbildern usw) Ägyptens sich vorfinden*, bearb. und hrsg. von F. Preisigke, Heidelberg 1922.
- PREISIGKE, WB cf. WB.
- PTS Patristische Texte und Studien. Berlin.
- RE *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart – München 1894-1997.
- REB *Revue des études byzantines*. Paris.
- RecTrav *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*. Paris 1870-1923.
- REG *Revue des études grecques*. Paris.



RIDA	<i>Revue internationale des droits de l'Antiquité</i> . Bruxelles.
RN	<i>Revue numismatique</i> . Paris.
SB	<i>Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten</i> . Wiesbaden 1913-.
SB Kopt.	<i>Koptisches Sammelbuch (KSB)</i> , hrsg. von M. R. M. Hasitzka, Berlin 1993-.
SC	Sources chrétiennes. Paris.
SEG	<i>Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum</i> .
SOPHOCLES	E. A. SOPHOCLES, <i>Greek lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine periods</i> , Cambridge Mass. – Leipzig 1914 (réimpr. Hildesheim 1983).
SPP	<i>Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde</i> , hrsg. von C. Wessely, Leipzig 1901-1924.
StudPap	<i>Studia papyrologica : revista española de papirología</i> . Barcelona.
Stud.Pal.	cf. SPP.
Suppl.Mag.	<i>Supplementum magicum : (Suppl. mag.)</i> , ed. with transl. and notes by R. W. Daniel & F. Maltomini (Pap.Colon. 16), Opladen 1990, 1992.
TAVO	Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients.
ThLL	<i>Thesaurus linguae Latinae</i> . München.
ThLL Onom.	<i>Thesaurus linguae Latinae. Onomasticon</i> , Lipsiae 1907-.
TIMM	S. TIMM, <i>Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit : eine Sammlung christlicher Stätten in Ägypten in arabischer Zeit, unter Ausschluß von Alexandria, Kairo, des Apa-Mena-Klosters (Dēr Abū Mina), der Skētis (Wādi n-Naṭrūn) und der Sinai-Region</i> (Beihefte TAVO. B, Geisteswissenschaften 41), 7 vol., Wiesbaden 1984-2007.
TLG	<i>Thesaurus linguae Graecae</i> . < <a href="http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/">http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/</a> >.
TM	<i>Travaux et mémoires</i> . Paris.
TMGeo	Trismegistos Places < <a href="http://www.trismegistos.org/geol/index.php">http://www.trismegistos.org/geol/index.php</a> >.
TMNam	Trismegistos People < <a href="http://www.trismegistos.org/ref/index.php">http://www.trismegistos.org/ref/index.php</a> >.
WB	<i>Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden : mit Einschluss der griechischen Inschriften, Aufschriften, Ostraka, Mumienschilder usw. aus Ägypten</i> , von F. Preisigke, mit einem Nachruf von O. Gradenwitz, bearb. und hrsg. von E. Kiessling, Berlin 1925-1944.
W.Chr.	L. MITTEIS & U. WILCKEN, <i>Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde. 1, Historischer Teil. 2, Chrestomathie</i> , Leipzig – Berlin 1912.
W.Gr.	L. MITTEIS & U. WILCKEN, <i>Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde. 2, Juristischer Teil. 1, Grundzüge</i> , Leipzig – Berlin 1912.
WL	<i>Wörter Listen aus den Registern von Publikationen griechischer und lateinischer dokumentarischer Papyri und Ostraka</i> , kompiliert von D. Hagedorn. < <a href="http://www.zaw.uni-heidelberg.de/hps/pap/WL/WL.pdf">http://www.zaw.uni-heidelberg.de/hps/pap/WL/WL.pdf</a> >.
YCS	<i>Yale classical studies</i> . New York.
ZAC	<i>Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum</i> . Berlin.
ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i> . Berlin.
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> . Stuttgart.
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i> . Bonn.

# KOSMAS AND DAMIANUS IN EGYPTIAN ONOMASTICS

by Willy CLARYSSE

The two holy doctors Kosmas and Damianus were among the most popular saints in late Christian Egypt and in late antiquity in general.<sup>1</sup> This is reflected also in onomastics: many parents named their children after the two saints, of whom Kosmas was by far the most popular.<sup>2</sup> In one case the name Kosmas may even have been used by a doctor as a kind of “nom de métier.”<sup>3</sup> In the Leuven Trismegistos database, which includes both Coptic and Greek texts, 582 persons appear under the name Kosmas, vs. 179 for Damianus.<sup>4</sup> In four cases there is even an alternation of the names Kosmas and Damianus between father and son (*Stud.Pal.* [2nd ed.] III 190, 1; *Stud.Pal.* X 89, 18; 278; *CPR* XIX 68.2).<sup>5</sup> The appearance of the saints in personal names is, however, limited in time and especially frequent in the later Byzantine and early Arab period, as is apparent from the following table.

	III	III–IV	IV	IV–V	V	V–VI	VI	VI–VII	VII	VII–VIII	VIII
Kosmas	0	0	2 (?)	1 (?)	3	4	41	34	102	133	176
Damianus	1	0	0	0	0	2	26	11	40	34	41

When the figures are represented in a graph (counting V–VI, VI–VII etc. half for each century) the popularity of the names in the late period is immediately clear. It is even greater than shown in the graph, which does not take into account that the number of texts (and of persons) steeply decreases after the sixth century.

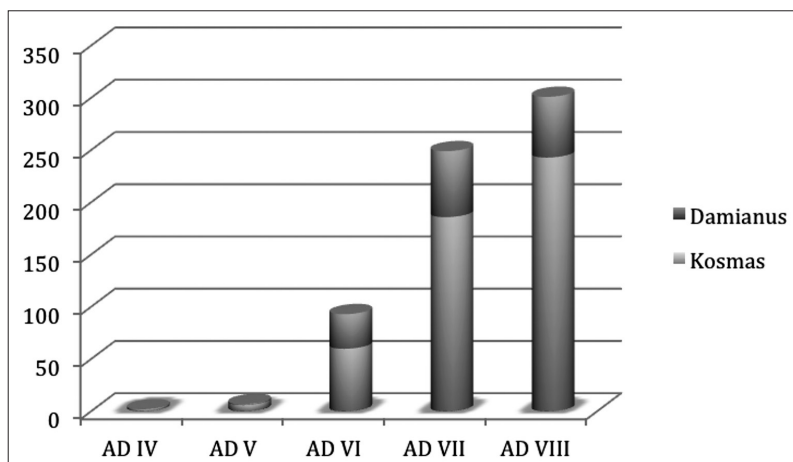
1. Cf. SEELIGER 1997; PERRAYMOND 1994; PAPAConstantinou 2001, pp. 129–32; WACHT 1998.

2. A first impression of the popularity of the names is offered in CLARYSSE 1995, pp. 386–8, on the basis of the onomastic lexica and not taking into account the Coptic documents.

3. Cf. SOLIN 1995, p. 134 n. 62; HEIL 1997, pp. 295–6.

4. No doubt some of these references deal with the same person. Prosopographical work has already been undertaken on the names, with the financial help of *Graecitas christiana*, but more work needs to be done. This will not change, however, the general trend of the figures presented.

5. For names given pair-wise to siblings, see SOLIN 1990, with a note on Kosmas and Damianus in Egypt on p. 52.



Both names first come to the fore in the 6th century AD and become even more popular in the 7th century<sup>6</sup> and after the Arab invasion. This is also visible in the lists of DIETHART 1980, pp. 174–84: 166 persons are listed there, of which only three are dated to the 5th/6th century. Examples of the fifth century and earlier are sparse and often not securely dated. The table does not take into account names that are only dated within a very wide time span, e.g. AD IV–VII (AD 300–699).

### KOSMAS

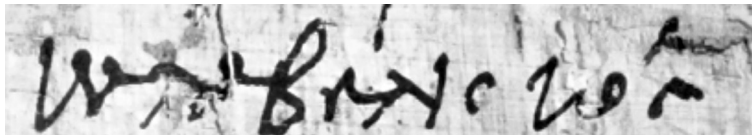
The following table lists the oldest examples of the name Kosmas as given in Trismegistos (those dated before the 6th century and those exactly dated in the 6th century up to AD 570).

no.	date	place	reference	TM text	note
1	229	Arsinoites	<i>BGU</i> II 659 iii, 15	9294	Καλαβέλις Κοσμ(ᾱ) καὶ Μέλας ἀδελ[φός]
2	326	Dakleh	<i>SB</i> XX 14884 ii, 56	23803	Κοσμᾱς ὁ Ἄλε( )
3	IV	Panopolites	<i>P.Lond.</i> V 1654, 12	33186	Κοσμᾱ παιδί
4	IV	Arsinoites	<i>P.Louvre</i> II 118, 4	88784	Ἀνουβίων Κοσμ(ᾱ)
5	IV–V	Bahriya oasis	<i>SB</i> XX 14923, 1	34163	letter to Appa Kosmas
6	480	Oxyrhynchus	<i>P.Wisc.</i> II 64, 1	15900	Πέτρῳ οἰ(κονόμῳ) Κοσμᾱ
7	499	Oxyrhynchus	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1959, 23	22060	δι' ἐμοῦ Κοσμ[ᾱ] (notary)
8	V	Oxyrhynchus	<i>P.Princ.</i> II 88	35083	ἄμ(πελοουργός)
9	V	Arsinoites	<i>Stud.Pal.</i> III 431	41151	Aur. Kosmas son of Petros
10	V–VI	Hermopolites	<i>Stud.Pal.</i> III 245	35521	[διὰ Κοσ]μᾱ προνοειτοῦ
11	V–VI	Hermopolites	<i>Stud.Pal.</i> VIII 958	35644	Κοσμᾱς σὺν θεῳ ἱλλοῦ(στριος)
12	V–VI	unknown	<i>Stud.Pal.</i> VIII 1318	520531	[Κο]σμᾱς

6. For the 7th century some 20 references should be added for Kosmas and 2 for Damianos from the Heidelberg *Wörterliste*, not yet incorporated in Trismegistos; they all date from the 6th century or later.

no.	date	place	reference	TM text	note
13	V–VI	Arsinoites	<i>Stud.Pal.</i> XX 193	35197	Κοσμᾶς πρε(σβύτερος) ἀρτωπρ(άτης)
14	post 513	Hermopolites	<i>CPR</i> VII 41, 2	15842	Αὐρ(ήλιος) Κ[ο]σμᾶς Σελι . ο
15	before 524	Aphrodito	<i>SB</i> XX 14671, 41	38507	[ - - Κ]οσμᾶ[ - - ] (damaged context)
16	557–60	Aphrodito	<i>PFlor</i> III 298.54, 75	36863	θεοφιλέστατος ἀββᾶ Κοσμᾶς
17	558	Arsinoites	<i>PLond.</i> I pp. 211–2 no. 113 (5 b) recto, 4 and 7	41023	Aur. Kosmas son of Kalotychos, fishmonger
18	565	Oxyrhynchus	<i>PSI</i> XIV 1427, 5 and 25	17159	father of Papnouthis
19	566	Aphrodito	RUFFINI 2011, p. 328 [Kosmas 4]		TM Pnr 135322
20	566	Aphrodito	<i>PLond.</i> V 1707, 3	19724	father of the notary Psoios

- 1 The editor reads Καλαβέλις Κοσμ(ᾶ) καὶ Μέλας ἀδελ[φός]. One could correct the patronymic to Κόσμ(ου), but the reading of the last two letters before the abbreviation is far from certain and maybe Κολλ(ούθου), as suggested by C. Balamoshev (email of Nov. 27, 2014), is preferable.



- 2 The editor reads Κοσμᾶς ὁ Ἄλε( ), but on the plate (WAGNER 1987, pl. 35) only the end of the line is legible and the reading of the name itself is highly uncertain. Instead of ὁ Ἄλε( ) I read ὁ ἀδε(λφός). This explains the presence of the article, which is unexpected with a patronymic.
- 3 The fourth-century date is based on the large sums of money, but the preponderance of Christian names and the title μεγαλοπρεπέστατος (l. 5) rather point to a later date. Moreover on the recto of the same papyrus, *PLond.* V 1653, 49–50, mention is made of a “priest of the saint Apa Johannes” and this is improbable in the fourth century. A. Papaconstantinou (email of Nov. 15, 2014) agrees that a fifth- or even sixth-century date is more likely.
- 4 The genitive ending Κοσμ(ᾶ) is supplemented by the editor. I propose to supplement Κόσμ(ου). Κόσμος is found regularly in the fourth century.
- 5 *SB* XX 14923 is dated by the editor WAGNER 1987, p. 104 to c. 400–20 on the basis of the handwriting, but J.-L. Fournet does not exclude a 6th-century date. The link with the preceding early 5th-century dossiers is not clear (no archaeological data are given). It is a letter to abba Kosmas, mentioning a trip from the Bahriya oasis to Constantinople. In l. 6 I read εἰ οὐ instead of θεῖον: “so that we know whether he has a response or not from Dorotheos. If he has one, then come with a ship and bring (?) the response.”
- 6 The editor, followed by PAPAConstantinou 2001, p. 129, interpreted οἰ(κονόμῳ) Κοσμᾶ as “economos (of the church of) Cosmas,” but in his index he wrongly included Kosmas among the personal names. Worp’s suggestion in CLARYSSE 1995, p. 388 n. 29

to correct the reading into Κόμα, a village in the Oxyrynchite nome, remains attractive, however, though it was not incorporated in the *Berichtigungsliste*. In that case Petros would be the oikonomos of a village.

- 8 *P.Princ.* II 88 is dated by the editor to the fifth century AD on the basis of the script. The online photograph shows a hand which may well belong to the sixth century [confirmed by J.-L. Fournet].
- 9 *Stud.Pal.* III 431 is dated to the 5th century in *HGV* and Trismegistos. Aurelius Kosmas is a son of the *makarios* Petros. The editio princeps, however, dates it to the 7th/8th century and this is confirmed by the expression (κεράτια) ἰ Ἀλε(ξάνδρεια) in the text. I suppose the 5th-century date is a mere slip of our online corpora (PN has 6th century).
- 14 The reading Κ[ο]σμάς looks probable, though the word is severely damaged.

A large number of texts, especially a group of papyri in the Louvre published by Wessely in the early 20th century, are dated broadly to the “Byzantine period.” In the *HGV* and in Trismegistos this has been rendered as “AD 300–699.” When a text mentions the name Kosmas it is now possible to date it more precisely to the period AD 500–800 (or even 550–700). In some cases a late date is confirmed by other names that are frequent in the late Byzantine or early Arabic period, e.g. Chael or Senouthios. The later date may be safely put forward for the following texts:

no.	place	reference	TM Pnr	note
1	Arsinoites	<i>SB</i> I 4700, 9	146706	father of NN
2	Arsinoites	<i>SB</i> I 4715	33849	Theodosiopolites*
3	Arsinoites	<i>SB</i> I 4766	376230	names Phoibammon and Apa Sion
4	Arsinoites	<i>SB</i> I 4768, 4	382256	name Christophoros**
5	Arsinoites	<i>SB</i> I 4807	376260	Kosmas deacon
6	Arsinoites	<i>SB</i> I 4851	376287	Theodoros son of Kosmas
7	Arsinoites	<i>SB</i> I 4891, 4	376294	Damianus in the same text; δι’ ἐμοῦ Κοσμᾶ
8	Arsinoites	<i>SB</i> I 4905, 2	376308	
9	Arsinoites	<i>SB</i> I 4932, 3 and 4	376344 376346	two persons with the name Kosmas; a χωρίον is mentioned
10	Arsinoites	<i>SB</i> I 4937	376359	Kosmas and Senouthios
11	Hermopol.?	<i>Stud.Pal.</i> VIII 958	380264	Kosmas σὺν θεῷ ἰλλούστριος***
12	Arsinoites	<i>Stud.Pal.</i> X 255, 16	284838	Kosmas priest; twice Senouthios, also mention of a χωρίον (Arab period?)
13	unknown	<i>O.Ashm.</i> 104.8	383664 383672 383676	three persons called Kosmas; also the name Chael
14	Thebes	<i>O.Bodl.</i> 2506.5	155850	all Christian names

\* The Theodosiopolites is first mentioned in AD 455 (*P.Prag.* II 131), but most references date from the 6th century.

\* The name Christophoros is not found before the 6th century, with the exception of *Stud.Pal.* XX 109, 8, which Wessely (followed by *HGV*) date to the 4th c., but the facsimile suggests a later date (5th–6th., J.-L. Fournet). Christophoros may, however, be a title here and in that case it may be earlier.

\*\*\* The expression καγκέλλ(ου) ἀπ(τ)άβ(αι), used in l. 5 of this text, is paralleled in 18 texts from the 6th and 7th centuries. Only *P.Sorb.* I 60 is dated to the mid-5th century.

The personal name Kosmas is hardly attested before the late fifth century, a long time after the introduction of the cult. As shown by MAAS 1908 (pp. 606–7), the earliest examples come from Syria. The only fourth-century example, a correspondent in Libanius' letter 937, is probably the only pagan known with this rare name. Maas suggests that the Greek name Κόσμος became Κοσμάς under the influence of Syrian Kozma, but this is difficult to prove.<sup>7</sup> To the examples given by Maas, mainly from ecclesiastical authors and council acts, can now be added some dated inscriptions, e.g. *IGLS* II 435 (AD 489), *IGLS* II 366 + 372 (AD 491), *IGLS* II 374 (AD 493), *SEG* XLIV 1313 (Apamea, AD 514). In Egypt the earliest example is from AD 499, and in the sixth century the name is found from the Arsinoites to Aphrodito. In the later period it was especially popular in the Fayum,<sup>8</sup> but this is not yet the case in the sixth century. Kosmas and Damianus may have been ousted from Middle Egypt by the other holy doctor Kollouthos.

## DAMIANUS

no.	date	place	reference	TM text	note
1	222–50	Nikopolis	<i>CIL</i> III <i>Suppl.</i> 6601	106328	G(avidius) Damianus beneficiarius
2	272	Naukratis	<i>P.Wisc.</i> I 2, 6	13706	[Δ]αμιανός [erroneous]
3	524	Aphrodito	<i>SB</i> XX 14669, 2	23784	s. of Iohannes
4	524	Aphrodito	<i>SB</i> XX 14669, 25	23784	Damianus μακάριος s. of Promauos
5	524	Aphrodito	<i>SB</i> XX 14669, 43 and 47	23784	comes
6	556	Aphrodito	<i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> III 67325 f. III verso l. 12	36540	notary
7	564	Hermopolis	<i>APF</i> 55 (2009), p. 392, no. 28 l. 6	128339	Φλ. Δαμιανός ἀπὸ ἐκδίκων
8	c. 560–92	Petra	<i>P.Petra</i> I 6 ll. 16–7	78724	father of Epiphanios
9	578	Alexandria			pope Damianus
10	582	Hermopolites	<i>BGU</i> III 900, 30	20073	father of Aphous
11	V–VII	Arsinoites	<i>Stud.Pal.</i> III 242	35529	

- 1 In the early third century AD the beneficiarius G. Damianus in Nikopolis near Alexandria has a traditional Roman name, and is probably an immigrant. The Latin name Damianus is found several times in aristocratic families of Roman Ephesos (see *I.Ephesos* passim), and is not as rare as Kosmas in that period (for Athens, see Damianos son of Damas in *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2096 and 2361).
- 2 The editor's reading [Δ]αμιανῶ was corrected into [Ἀ]μμιανῶ by D. Hagedorn in *BASP* 5, 1968, p. 40.

7. In *I.Pal.Tertia* Ia 279 (AD 375–400) for Kozmas Abdamochou an indigenous name may perhaps be involved. I have not taken into account the doubtful Κοσ[μας] in *TAM* II.3 1017 (Lycia, Roman period), nor *I.Bouthrotos* 52, 8 (163 BC), where the accusative Κοσμαν may belong to a woman Κόσμα. The latter text is in any case far too early for a hypocoristic name in -ᾶς.

8. Cf. DELATTRE 2012, p. 173.

3–5 These are the oldest attestations for the name Damianus, all in Aphrodito. RUFFINI 2011, p. 150 dates them “before the summer of 524.”

The appearance of the name Damianos also allows a more precise dating (6th or 7th century) for a few texts, now dated generally to the “Byzantine period.”

no.	place	reference	TM Pnr	note
1	Arsinoites	<i>BKU</i> III.2 452	92227	the name Chael also occurs
2	Arsinoites	<i>SBI</i> 4809, 3	376264	Jeremias deacon
3	Arsinoites	<i>SBI</i> 4891	376292	Damianus excubitor; Kosmas
4	Arsinoites (?)	<i>SBI</i> 4930	376341	fragment
5	Arsinoites	<i>Stud.Pal.</i> III 242	35529	(VI–VII instead of V–VII)

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## ABSTRACTS/RÉSUMÉS

Rodney AST, *Latin ostraca from Vandal North Africa [1–17]* p. 7

This article contains editions of 1 Greek and 16 Latin ostraca from Vandal North Africa, all of which, except 17, are kept in the Département des Antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines at the Musée du Louvre. Everyday texts of this type are rather rare, which makes them all the more valuable for the light they shed on day-to-day activities in communities of North Africa during the Vandal period. They are of particular interest for their onomastics, dating formulas, and evidence for estate management practices.

Giuseppina AZZARELLO, *VBP IV 95: qualche proposta di revisione* p. 487

The article focuses on *VBP IV 95*, a papyrus dating to the first half of the 6th c. CE and containing a long account referring to a large estate in the Hermopolite. Textual remarks, including a new edition of col. I and new readings of several lines in other columns, shed light both on the structure of the account and the economic administration of the estate.

Roger S. BAGNALL, *Two partnership agreements from the Dakhla Oasis [18–19]* p. 33

Two contracts for partnership in the caravan trade between the Dakhla Oasis and the Nile valley, drawn up between the same individuals in 319 and 320, are republished with new readings.

Guido BASTIANINI, *Amuleto cristiano [20]* p. 47

The paper provides a new and complete transcription of PSI inv. 365, a Christian amulet for the healing of an ill woman (late 6th c. AD). The commentary points out the connections with the liturgical formulary and with Christian literature.

PSI inv. 365, un amuleto cristiano per la guarigione di una donna malata (VI sec. d.C. *ex.*), è presentato in una nuova trascrizione integrale. Sono evidenziati nel commento i rapporti con il formulario liturgico e la letteratura cristiana.

Amin BENAÏSSA, *A recruit's enrolment in a military unit and a new dux Thebaidis [21]* p. 55

Publication of a papyrus in the British Library preserving a receipt issued by an *actuarius* of a military unit (probably the *Mauri Scutarii* in Hermopolis) to a new recruit. The *actuarius* confirms the receipt of the recruit's certificate of appointment to the unit (*probatoria*), which was issued by the *dux Thebaidis*, and accordingly undertakes to register him in the unit's muster-roll (*matrix*). The only parallel to this type of document is *P.Münch.* I 2 (578). The papyrus also reveals the name of a new *dux Thebaidis*, Flavius Heracleius Dorotheus Hypsistius Andronicus Celer Zenodotus. He is identifiable with a wealthy honorary consul in the reign of Anastasius mentioned by John Lydus.



Lajos BERKES, *New evidence on Byzantine aristocrats in fiscal contexts from the 5th–6th centuries* [22–23]

p. 65

An edition of two Greek papyri adding new evidence on Byzantine aristocrats. P.Heid. inv. G 1671 contains an order for delivery of a camel and three donkeys written on a reused 5th-century protocol referring to the *meris* of the *clarissimus* Eudaemon. P.Heid. inv. G 235a (6th c., Antinoopolis?) is a receipt for the extraordinary tax, *diagraphē* (*descriptio*) of the third instalment in connection with the *gloriosissimi* Dioscorus and Theodorus.

Phil BOOTH, *The last years of Cyrus, patriarch of Alexandria* († 642)

p. 509

This article examines the final years (c. 636–42) of the Chalcedonian patriarch Cyrus of Alexandria. It first studies the witnesses to the patriarch's deposition and trial, before turning to alternative traditions for his reinstatement and death contained within the *Chronicle* of John of Nikiu. It argues that the duplication of information within the *Chronicle* results from the integration within an earlier version of the text of a Constantinopolitan source covering events in 641 and 642. Using the *Chronicle* and other contemporaneous sources, it then suggests that the factionalism which characterised the same period was informed not only through rival aspirations to power, but through fundamental differences in political and religious ideologies.

Anne BOUD'HORS, *Degrés d'arabisation dans l'Égypte du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle : CPR II 228 revisité* [24]

p. 71

This new edition of CPR II 228, a Coptic letter on papyrus assignable to the 8th century, aims to elucidate the grammatical and lexical difficulties of the text and to provide a full translation, as well as to discuss its contributions for the study of the socio-cultural changes associated with the Arabization of Egypt.

Florence CALAMENT, *Coup de projecteur sur un document copte des archives du monastère Saint-Jérémie de Saqqara* : P.RevilloutCopt. 3 (P.Louvre N 2405 /5) [25]

p. 91

The papyrus P.RevilloutCopt. 3 entered the collections of the Louvre Museum (Department of Egyptian Antiquities) in the first half of the nineteenth century in an unknown way. This Coptic document belongs to the archives of the monastery of Apa Jeremiah at Saqqara. It is difficult to read because the pink has turned very pale. Published quite imperfectly by Eugène Revillout in 1876, it has remained rather underestimated. Modern investigative techniques (ultraviolet photography and image reediting in Photoshop) have allowed me to read and understand the text almost completely. It is a guarantee in which the sender of the letter states he has hired a man to replace a monk of Apa Jeremiah requisitioned for compulsory labour at Klysma. Having received from the monastery the payment of the hired man's salary, he guarantees his reliability to the archimandrite. The papyrus can be unequivocally dated from the first half of the eighth century.

Malcolm CHOAT, *A receipt for wine from the Aspidas archive* [26]

p. 101

This contribution publishes a receipt for wine from 332/33 CE on papyrus. The papyrus, today held in the Museum of Ancient Cultures at Macquarie University, Sydney, forms part of the archive of the family of Aspidas son of Kollouthos, who dwelt in the village of Hipponon in the Herakleopolite nome in the first half of the fourth century.

Willy CLARYSSE, *Kosmas and Damianus in Egyptian onomastics* p. 559

The personal names Kosmas and Damianus are one aspect of the cult of the two saintly doctors. They are hardly ever found before the 6th century AD and may therefore be a helpful criterion to date Byzantine papyri.

Alain DELATTRE & Naïm VANTHIEGHEM, *Un ensemble archivistique trilingue à Strasbourg : un protocole et deux ordres de réquisition de la fin du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle [27-28]* p. 109

Edition of a bilingual Greek-Arabic protocol and two entagia related to compulsory service. The first of these is an Arabic-Greek demand note issued by the chancery of the Egyptian governor ‘Abd al-‘Azīz son of Marwān. The second one was written in Coptic by the administration of the dux Flavius Atias. It mentions a visit of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz in Alexandria, which is also recorded in the *History of the patriarchs*.

Tomasz DERDA & Joanna WEGNER, *Letter from Tebetny to the monks of Naqlun concerning fieldwork (P.Naqlun 39) [29]* p. 133

The present document is a letter from the villagers of Tebetny in the Fayum, headed by a priest and a deacon, to the monks of the Naqlun monastery. It was found in the refuse dump on the Naqlun plateau during the excavation campaign of 2008. Archaeological context and palaeographic criteria allow us to date it to the sixth-seventh century. The letter, although written in very poor Greek and difficult to understand, is of great importance for the research of the history of the Naqlun monastic community. It contains the first attestation of the monastery's name (ἄγιον Νεκλόνιον) in a Greek text. The hierarchy of the addressees most probably reflects the organisational structure of the community. The document also bears testimony to the involvement of “Naqlun fathers” in fieldwork and to a significant role played by the community in local networks.

Denis FEISSEL, *Μουζίκια et autres coffres, de l'Égypte byzantine à Isidore de Séville* p. 565

Late Greek vocabulary (5th-6th c.) saw the appearance of two new words meaning “box”/“chest,” μουζίκιον and σκευρίον, which are insufficiently represented in lexicography. Μουζίκιον is attested in Greek by the odd papyrus (*P.Oxy.* XLIII 3150, which is reinterpreted here, and *P.Colorado* inv. 2), and by literary texts, mainly hagiography. It is also attested as a loanword in Coptic (μοϥρικε in *O.Crum* 472), in Syriac (*mzqyn* in John of Ephesos), and in Latin (*mozicia* in Isidore of Seville). Two texts use μουζίκιον and σκευρίον interchangeably as synonyms. This equivalence is confirmed by the other uses of σκευρίον in Greek and *sqwryn* in Syriac, in hagiographical and also legal literature. The analysis of picturesque narratives, most of which are set in Egypt, aims better to define the form and function of the coffers described by the two terms.

Jean-Luc FOURNET, *Un curieux contrat d'engagement d'intendant des archives de Dioscore d'Aphrodité [30]* p. 151

Edition of an unedited papyrus from the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (*P.Cair.* SR inv. 2377), which joins with a fragment published by Jean Maspero (*P.Cair.Masp.* III 67304). The document follows *prima facie* the formulary of a steward's work contract, but turns out to be a deed by which the declaring party makes arrangements that are family-related. I am tempted to identify it as being by Dioscorus of Aphrodite (6th c.) who, before retiring to the monastery founded by his father, would have wanted to set his own affairs in order and ensure the management of his properties.

Esther GAREL, *Le gnôstêr et le comarque dans les papyrus coptes : nouveau témoignage de P.Sorb. inv. 2488* [31] p. 167

The Coptic papyrus P.Weill I 57 (P.Sorb. inv. 2488) offers a new attestation of two village officials, the κωμάρχης and the γνωστήρ, not much attested or not at all in Coptic documentary texts. Furthermore it proves that the functions of *gnôster* and village scribe are one and the same, *gnôstêr* being a designation peculiar to Middle Egypt (especially the Hermopolite nome).

Nikolaos GONIS, *Payments to bucellarii in seventh-century Oxyrhynchus* [32] p. 175

An extensive receipt for payments to *bucellarii* (32 cavalrymen and 26 infantrymen), issued at Oxyrhynchus in September/October 612 by the Apionic banker Makarios. The text offers a wealth of information on the composition and organisation of the bands of *bucellarii* and on the presence of foreign soldiers in Egypt at that time.

Dieter HAGEDORN & Bärbel KRAMER, *Zwei Schreibübungen und ein Geschäftsbrief byzantinischer Zeit* [33–35] p. 193

Edition of three unpublished documentary texts from papyri belonging to the collection of the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg.

Paul HEILPORN, *Correspondance officielle à propos de deux perséas morts* [36] p. 215

Edition of a copy of a mid-4th-c. correspondence sent by Flavius Makarios, *procurator* of imperial estates, to the *exactor* of the Heracleopolite nome, about the sale of two fallen trees from a temple precinct. The sale has been authorized by the official in charge of the *res privata* in Egypt, Flavius Akontios, who might be known from Libanius, *Ep.* 226 and 1495.

Todd M. HICKEY, *Three late antique descripta from P.Amh. II* [37–39] p. 233

Editions of three late antique *descripta* from *P.Amh. II*. *P.Amh.* 185 is an account related to the vintage (6th or early 7th c.); 186, a tax receipt (7th/8th c.); 187, a Coptic text, probably a writing exercise (6th or 7th c.). A Hermopolite provenance is certain for the first two pieces and possible for the third.

Andrea JÖRDENS, *Drei Verträge aus dem kirchlichen Milieu* [40–42] p. 243

Edition of three late antique papyri from the Louvre collection: I. Lease of real property of the holy south church of Hermupolis (19.9.556?) – II. Receipt for wages for labour on a vineyard of the holy church of the Archangel Michael (1./2.587, 602 or 617) – III. Fragmentary labour contract involving a priest dwelling in the monastery of Psoei (6th/7th c.).

James G. KEENAN, *Cargo checking at Alexandria and the late antique annona: P.Turner 45* p. 579

This contribution offers a reinterpretation of *P.Turner* 45, 10–4 with coordinate observations on four related documents, all emanating from the office of the prefect of the *annona* in Alexandria. It proposes the existence of a type of document called a κέντησις, a “pricking,” used in late antiquity to check grain cargo amounts from the Egyptian nomes upon delivery in Alexandria.

Johannes KRAMER, *Das Bild der Stadt Köln im Hadrianus* (P.Monts.Roca III) p. 591

The contribution deals with the image of the city of Cologne in the Latin Hadrianus-papyrus (P.Monts.Roca III, 4th c.). The unknown author has no direct acquaintance with the city; he draws a picture of a frontier fortress and the measures taken by the emperor in favour of Cologne. The text is a novel with fictitious historical background, not a historical treatise.

Avshalom LANIADO, *Abba Ammonathas et son miracle : fiscalité, diplomatie et sainteté en Égypte byzantine* p. 597

When ordered by an imperial official to pay taxes called *epikephalaia*, monks in Pelusium (in the province of Augustamnica) decided to send a delegation to the emperor in order to ask for exemption. An otherwise unattested monk called Abba Ammonathas entreated them to fast in their cells for two weeks, and promised to solve the problem in his own way. On the 15th day, he showed them a *sakra* (imperial letter), and told them how, within a single night, he had it signed and sealed by the emperor and then countersigned in Alexandria. This allusion to the procedure of countersignature, which is entirely unexpected in a literary text, seems to betray some knowledge of Justinian's *Novel* 152 (534 CE), and this provides us with a *terminus post quem*. Some remarks on the use of the Latin term *sakra* as a loan word in Greek are included.

Alain MARTIN, *Note de service de Makrobios à Silbanos* [43] p. 271

Edition of a Greek papyrus (5th/6th cent.) from the Brussels collection, interpreted as a *memorandum* from the owner of an estate (situated perhaps in the Oxyrhynchites) to his assistant.

Roberta MAZZA, *Old and new papyri from the estate of Lady Victorina* [44–46] p. 277

A landlady Victorina is known from three published papyri: P.Herm. 42, P.Bodl. I 26 and P.Grenf. II 97. This article presents two new texts belonging to her dossier, P.Ryl. Greek Add. 1150 and P.Berol. inv. 9083, and a new edition of P.Herm. 42.

Although there are no firm elements allowing us to know the location of lady Victorina's estate nor any other important information such as her family background, the papyri present interesting material features and offer insights on the mechanics of land management in Byzantine Egypt.

Fritz MITTHOF & Amphilochios PAPATHOMAS, *Sorgen um Gesundheit und Geld: Ein spätantiker Privatbrief aus Alexandrien in die Thebais* [47] p. 285

The article offers the first edition of a late antique private letter preserved on a papyrus from the Viennese collection. The writer lives in Alexandria, but maintains close relations to the Thebaid, especially to the Panopolite nome. His place of origin can perhaps be situated in that area. The recipient, whom the writer addresses as a "brother," probably lived in Hermupolis Magna, where allegedly the papyrus was found; however, at present he is on his way up the Nile to Psonis in the Panopolite nome. The letter begins with an enquiry about the recipient's health: the writer appears to be very concerned, a fact which implies a close emotional relationship with the recipient. It then refers to an issue concerning the bad fortune or wrong behaviour of certain persons, who were close to the writer and the recipient: a servant named Chryseros, a patrician, who according to the writer behaved unjustly, since he exacted money from a procurator in the name of the writer, and, finally, a third person, who dissipated all his travel money during his stay in Alexandria, including spending on courtesans, and thus contributed heavily to the writer's dire financial situation. The writer is educated and uses many rare words and phrases. Apparently, both he and the recipient, though not scholars, belonged to the urban elite of Egypt.

Federico MORELLI, *L'imperatrice e i lebbrosi: un pagamento del duca di Alessandria e curatore della domus divina Athanasios per una fondazione di Aelia Theodora* [48] p. 303

Edition of a 6th-century papyrus from the Vienna collection. The text is a receipt issued by the representatives of a leprosarium, for the payment of part of 886 nomismata established by the empress Theodora as an annual donation from the imperial estates for the sustenance of the institution. The addressee of the receipt is Athanasios, dux or ex-dux of Alexandria and *curator* of the *domus divina* for the Thebaid, already known as dux of the Thebaid from the Dioscoros archive.

Bernhard PALME, *Neue Texte zum Dossier des Flavius Flavianus und Flavius Ptolemaeus* [49–51] p. 339

The wealthy Herakleopolite landowner Flavius Flavianus and his brother Ptolemaeus are known to us from a “dossier” of more than two dozen papyri from the mid-5th century CE. Flavianus was most likely the father of Apion I, whose marriage to Flavia Isis, the daughter of the wealthy Oxyrhynchite landowner Flavius Strategius I, united the Oxyrhynchite and Herakleopolite estates of the two families, which would be the foundation for the development of the immense landholdings of the Apion dynasty. This article presents editions of three unpublished papyri, of which certainly Nos. 1 and 2 and possibly also No. 3 are to be added to the “dossier” of the Flavianus. It is further argued that two other, already published texts (P.Vind.Sijp. 20 and P.Vindob. G 29435, ed. PINTAUDI 1990) belong to this “dossier.” While all known texts pertaining to Flavianus have come from the collection of the Austrian National Library (Vienna), the newly edited papyrus No. 2 is housed at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Yale University).

Arietta PAPACONSTANTINO, *Credit, debt and dependence in early Islamic Egypt* p. 613

This article presents an overview of lending practices in early Islamic Egypt and Nessana as they are reflected in the papyri. It identifies the various individuals involved in such operations and their social distribution, and discusses a number of cases and their implications for social relations within Christian communities under Islamic rule.

Lucian REINFANDT & Naïm VANTHIEGHEM, *Les archives fiscales de Mīnā, fils de Damarqūra, un contribuable copte du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle* [52–58] p. 351

Edition of seven Arabic tax receipts belonging to the archive of a Christian taxpayer who lived in the late 9th century in Madīnat al-Fayyūm. They cover an Abbassid taxation practice over a period of more than three decades, in a crucial phase of Islamic history, i.e., under the patronage of the Ṭulūnid dynasty over Egypt and Syria and during the gradual dislocation of the caliphate.

Fabian REITER, *Brieffragment bezüglich einer Vermögensauseinandersetzung aus der Trierer Papyrussammlung* [59] p. 371

The contribution consists of the first edition of a letter hosted in the papyrus collection of the University of Trier which stems from the 6th century CE and whose provenance remains unknown. The letter is directed to a *clarissimus* “brother” Helladius and concerns a division of property between a “most beloved brother” of the writer and an unknown party. The writer mentions a bishop and expresses a plea, but all details remain unclear because of the fragmentary state of the papyrus.

Tonio Sebastian RICHTER, *Ein fatimidenzeitliches koptisches Rechnungsheft aus den Papieren Noël Giron's* [60] p. 381

The late Coptic paper quire presented here comes from papers left by Noël Giron (1884–1941). It contains records of expenditure and income spent and received at several occasions by buying and selling commodities such as wax, olive oil, flour, figs, salt, cumin, steel, chains, kettles, nails, different types of textiles, sulphur, myrrh, mastics and others, their prices summing up to substantial amounts of money. Dated to the '60s of the 11th century, P.Gascou 60 is one of the latest datable documentary texts in Coptic language known to us. One particularly interesting feature is its terminology and phraseology around coins and currency exchange which are partially based on Arabic loanwords.

Gesa SCHENKE, *Two papyri from Jeme* [61–62] p. 403

Among a group of fragmentary eighth-century fiscal documents in the Rendel Harris Collection in Birmingham, a tax assessment subscribed by officials of the village of Tmouk pa-Jeme concerns the *xenion* tax. This document makes it likely that also the other fiscal documents of the collection come from the same region, which has been known to have mainly produced fiscal documents on ostraca. Additionally, a letter to a man named Chael, an *illustrios* and *archon*, known already through another letter sent by the same man, Mena son of Stephanos, strengthens the assumption that this small dossier has the same provenance.

John David THOMAS, *List of foodstuffs and other items* [63] p. 413

Publication of an unedited papyrus belonging to the Egypt Exploration Society. Almost certainly part of the Theophanes "archive," and so from Hermopolis and dating from around AD 320.

Sofía TORALLAS TOVAR, *Two documents from the abbey of Montserrat* [64–65] p. 419

The well known Roca-Puig collection at the abbey of Montserrat contains a great chronological and thematic variety of documents. Linguistically most of the material is Greek, although the Coptic collection is notable and contains many interesting pieces. In this paper I have chosen a sixth-century bilingual papyrus fragment which presents two independent texts, one on each side, representative of a multicultural society. On the recto side, across the papyrus fibers, one finds a fragment of a Greek document, probably a petition, where a sailor and a *τρακτηντής* named Paulus are mentioned. After the document was obsolete and the papyrus already slightly damaged (which we know because the second use avoids the holes), at 180° there is a list of garments and textiles assigned to different men, written along the papyrus fibers, in Coptic. I will start on the verso, since the document on that side is complete.

Peter VAN MINNEN, *Receipt for salary payment to two village clerics* [66] p. 429

Edition of a fifth–sixth-century receipt for the partial payment of salaries (two *artabai* of grain) to two village clerics by the bishop of Hermopolis.

Klaas A. WÖRP, *Miscellaneous new Greek papyri from Kellis* [67–88] p. 435

Edition of twenty-two documents and sub-literary texts from Kellis.

Constantin ZUCKERMAN, *Between the Cadaster of Aphroditè and the Cadaster of Thebes, or, The emergence of modios as an area unit* p. 643

The article aims at showing that the generally admitted continuity of cadastral practice between late antiquity and the middle Byzantine period is an illusion. In the course of the seventh century, lacking the means to maintain the traditional registry, village by village, of landed properties and their owners, the state creates the rural fiscal unit, *chorion*, whose inhabitants are collectively responsible for its tax. This simplified form of land-tax perception generates the phenomenon of Byzantine peasant community known from the Rural Code (*Nomos georgikos*), which can now be described as the late antique village deprived of the cadaster. Then, a cluster of early-tenth-century evidence reveals a hitherto unsuspected reform, probably the most important in Byzantium's agrarian history, which consisted in re-introducing the cadaster through a systematic survey of agricultural land using a new area unit, the *modios*.



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